

# The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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MRS. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.  
President National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage



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## OUR NEW HEADQUARTERS IN WASHINGTON

MRS. WADSWORTH SUCCEEDS MRS. DODGE

THE National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, which since its organization has had its offices in New York City, has moved to Washington and is now installed in a home of its own at 1621 K Street.

This change of headquarters has been contemplated since the Annual Convention of the Association in December last, but it was not until July that it could be accomplished.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, the founder of the organization and its continuous president through all the years of its existence, resigned the office to which she has been unanimously elected year after year, in order that a Washington woman might succeed her, and to this office Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., was elected.

Mrs. Wadsworth is the wife of the Senior Senator from the State of New York and a daughter of the late John Hay, one of the foremost statesmen of this country and a distinguished litterateur. No greater president could have been selected and Mrs. Wadsworth's generosity in accepting this difficult position has placed not only the Association, but every high-minded and sane-thinking woman in the country under deepest obligations to her.

The loyalty and support of every member of our organization will be given her generously as they have always been given to her beloved predecessor, Mrs. Dodge.

Mrs. Wadsworth's letter of acceptance is so patriotic, so devoted and disinterested, so terse and clear in its statement of our position that no better index of her power and ability can be given than to repeat in these columns her words:

Mrs. Horace Brock, Chairman,  
Executive Committee,

National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

My Dear Mrs. Brock:

I have just received your note informing me of the action taken by the Executive Board of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in moving the National Headquarters to Washington, and electing me President of the Association subsequent to the resignation of Mrs. Dodge, who for so many years has been our faithful and efficient leader. Although most reluctant to shoulder any additional burden outside the care of my family, the War Relief work and the charities in which I am already engaged,

I feel that it is my duty, *in the interest of Patriotism and National Defense*, to accept this office and to do my utmost to justify your confidence. I feel deeply the honor and responsibility you have conferred on me by this choice, and am profoundly impressed with the importance of our endeavor.

Red Cross work and War Relief work are cruel and pressing necessities and should not be slighted for any other consideration, but, God willing, their importance and need will only last for a few years, through the war and period of reconstruction, whereas this question of suffrage is to affect the life and government of our Nation until the very end of our existence.

We are a country at war. Surely the qualities of leadership most needed at this time are strength, stability, breadth and fairness of vision, a direct and uncomplex method of thought and action. Can we possibly hope to gain these by throwing into our National politics so inflammable and uncertain an element as the feminine vote?

In spite of the embarrassed protests of thousands of good women Suffragists against the seditious and disloyal actions of the pickets in Washington, is it not in every way probable that those bolder and more audacious spirits would lead and influence those of the less responsible voters—both men and women—than could be counteracted by the conservative and well-meaning woman voter who, to get into the political arena herself would have to open the door to so lawless and mischief-making a company?

Furthermore, I feel that it is a very poor economy to duplicate instead of to divide labor and responsibility. It is bad "team work" whether in play, in business or in life itself for two people to be in a place where one is sufficient. I believe strongly in Women's Star of destiny, but I also believe that it shines far above and beyond the field of politics, and with your loyal help and co-operation I propose to do my very best to keep it there.

Yours most cordially,

(Signed) ALICE H. WADSWORTH.



NEW HOME OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

## The Woman's Protest

### AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by  
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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

#### A FUNDAMENTAL FALLACY

THE papers are publishing every day stories about the pickets, acquainting the people of the whole country with what they are doing. Fortunately this knowledge is enabling the people to decide whether they desire such performances permanently made a part of politics.

Amateur notoriety seekers there are by the thousands who will expose themselves to criticism and ridicule to get it, but even they gradually learn that publicity can punish as well as publish their follies.

It is with a subconscious understanding that woman suffrage is being penalized by the publicity the pickets are getting that Mrs. C. C. Catt and other leaders of the National Woman Suffrage Association are repudiating their sisters and protesting that the pickets do not represent all the suffragists.

But it is not reassuring to the public that the older and more conservative suffragists should repudiate the acts of the pickets. If they are in earnest about it they should stop it.

No organization of men, even the Socialists, would submit to having its cause thus exposed constantly to national ridicule on account of the activities of a few foolish individuals. The individuals would be suppressed. But the National American Woman Suffrage Association can no more correct or control its offspring, the Congressional Union, than some foolish mothers who want the vote to govern the universe can control their own children.

In fact, the older organization is illustrating right here the fundamental fallacy of the suffragists.

Everybody knows that all men are the sons of women, under their direct influence in childhood, governed by them as mothers and teachers for ten or fifteen years before maturity and more or less influenced by them after marriage.

Yet the whole suffrage philosophy is based on the assumption that women, with the vote, can control men in the mass whom they have failed to control while under the personal care and government in the home.

Every indictment of "man-made" laws is a reflection on "woman-made" men. If a woman cannot control the child by what right shall she claim that she can efficiently govern the man?

"These foolish children who picket the White House do not represent us," cries the parent organization of suffragists. "They should not be taken as samples of our fitness to govern the world."

It is the plea of the inefficient mother, of the personally helpless pacifist, who pleads that automatic machinery be established to take the place of human labor, courage, determination and personal service in the progress of the world.

If the so-called "conservative suffragists" cannot suppress the "pickets," who are disgracing their own cause, how do they

expect us to believe that they would be of any assistance in government, which is largely an organization to suppress the crimes and follies of "incorrigible" children grown to adult enemies of the community.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT is busy repudiating the militancy of the pickets, but it was not until she felt that her cause was suffering from their actions that she grew so impatient with their methods.

In April, 1916, she gave an address in Cooper Union, New York City, in which she is reported to have said, "I ask you, has anything ever been achieved without pestering? The barons pestered King John for Magna Charta. The revolutionists pestered King George for independence. We will continue to pester."

The difference is so slight between "pestering" Congress and picketing the White House that it is not surprising that the more radical suffragists should ignore it.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton in March, 1888, at a meeting of the Woman's Council in Washington, said: "I have often said to men of the present day that the next generation of women will not stand arguing with you as patiently as we have for half a century. \* \* \* The time is not far distant when the women will strike hands with labor, with socialists, with anarchists, and you will have the scenes of the Revolution of France acted over again in this Republic."

The Providence Bulletin of June 17, 1909, quotes Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as saying: "The time has come to introduce some of these methods into our work in America. As soon as I can see that good can come to the cause out of sensational methods I shall be tooting a horn on a boat on the Hudson, fighting with policemen and doing all the other things our English sisters have done."

After such expressed sentiments as these the public will not readily believe that Dr. Shaw's high indignation at the militant suffragists is from patriotic and not politic motives. Moreover, it demonstrates beyond doubt that the picketing of the militants is the direct result of the teachings of the leaders above quoted. The seed they have been planting for thirty years is bearing fruit. These leaders are telling the world that if they are given the ballot they will revolutionize the world. It may be they will. Elizabeth Cady Stanton told us how this would be done as far back as 1888.

THE present picketing is presenting material for serious reflection to those men and women who wish to preserve woman's reputation for refinement, dignity and courtesy, which it has taken the mothers of the race thousands of years to build up. The most conspicuous element in the suffrage movement in the United States to-day is composed of reckless radicals of the sort who started the militant outrages in England years ago.

These women do not take courtesy into politics. Politics seems to rob them of woman's natural refinement. Personal abuse, vilification, and militant tactics have become common. The campaigns have become more bitter, more vindictive, more ruthless, more intense and more unscrupulous wherever the woman politician has added her efforts to those of the male. Attacks on women on account of their political opinions are frequent, and more petty, more unfair and more far-fetched than those made upon men. Whether the women victims are suffragists, anti-suffragists, Republicans or Democrats is not the question. They are women. No woman can be jeered, heckled, attacked or slandered in public without a definite loss to the sex.

There are many excellent women who believe in woman suffrage because they think it would elevate and refine politics to the level of drawing-room discussion. But politics is not drawing-room discussion. It is modified war, which will increase the gentleness and courtesy of neither sex.

## DISLOYAL EVEN TO THEIR SEX

*Editorial from the New York World, July 20, 1917*

WHEN the history of this war is written it will have to be recorded that of all the women of the great democracies, the militant suffragists of the United States alone brought reproach upon the patriotism of their sex.

To them this great conflict, in which free government is battling for its very life, is nothing. The millions upon millions of dead, the other millions of mutilated, the blind, the impoverished, the starving, the widows, the orphans, the stupendous burden of debt imposed upon posterity, the disease, the devastation, the indescribable anguish of mankind crucified upon a cross of military ambition—all this is but dust in the balance.

What matters it if men are dying by the thousands every day? What matters it if the women of the occupied districts of Belgium and France are subjected to outrage, to murder, to slavery and all other forms of military brutality? What matters it if the womanhood of France has subjected itself, with a heroism never surpassed, to all manner of sacrifice and privation in order to save France and civilization from the rule of the sword? What matters it if the women of Great Britain have given to their Government a loyalty and devotion that have never swerved since the beginning of the war, and have hesitated at no form of work or service to strengthen the British battle-line? What matters it if Russian women have actually gone into the trenches to help drive back German autocracy and save the liberty of their new republic?

Why should the militant suffragists in Washington bother about these trifles when they can assume the more important duty of picketing the White House, defying the law, flaunting treasonable banners and harassing a government and President that need every second of their time and every ounce of their energy in the work of winning a war of vital concern to all women?

We are told by these women that they are merely exercising the right of petition. Under that construction, burning down

the White House, planting bombs in the Capitol or dynamiting the Treasury might also be construed as an exercise of the right of petition. If any aggregation of men, whatever the pretext or the motive, did what these women are doing, its activities would not continue for five minutes, and no kind-hearted President would pardon the delinquents out of jail.

The militant suffragists are exercising no right whatever unless it is the right to make fools of themselves. They are spoiled children without self-discipline and defiant of all forms of social discipline. No less offensive than the I. W. W., the professional pacifists and the pro-German propaganda, they are serving the Kaiser to the best of their ability and calling it a campaign for equal suffrage. \* \* \*

Nor is there any device more objectionable to American institutions than the constitutional amendment for which these women are clamoring. It is in short a proposition to enable the Nevada Legislature to say who shall vote in New York and to enable the Utah Legislature to say who shall vote in Pennsylvania. Under it Legislatures representing a minority of the population of the United States would fix the franchise requirements of states with a majority of the population. Were it conceivable that such an amendment could be adopted and ratified, the states might as well be dismantled and the whole business of government centralized in Congress. When the State can no longer fix the franchise qualifications of its own citizens, it has lost the fundamental power that makes it a State.

In all respects the performance of these women is an indictment of their fitness to be citizens of a democracy in peace or in war. It is not alone that they are guilty of disloyalty to their own Government in a supreme crisis. They are guilty of disloyalty even to their own sex—to the womanhood of civilization whose future development and progress depend upon the destruction of Prussian imperialism and military domination which have drenched the world with blood.

## MRS. WADSWORTH'S PROTEST TO THE PRESIDENT

THE following protest against the White House pickets was addressed to President Wilson by Mrs. Jas. Wadsworth, Jr., the president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage:

1621 K STREET,  
WASHINGTON, D. C. July 23, 1917.

THE PRESIDENT,

The White House.

My dear Mr. President:

As a loyal American citizen and a life-long resident of the District of Columbia, I wish to protest against the wilful and persistent disregard for law and order systematically displayed by the members of the National Woman's party.

Your action in pardoning the sixteen women sentenced to Occoquan was one of clemency and not of justice. It was a proof of your tolerance and magnanimity and showed your appreciation not so much of woman's rights as of her duties.

The women had been repeatedly warned that further violation of the laws would be punished and they had arrogantly and defiantly courted arrest. They went to Occoquan rather than pay the small fines imposed, simply to gain the notoriety and publicity of such an action, and then with a transparent mental dishonesty that is almost inconceivable in persons of normal intelligence, they advertised their martyrdom to the Cause of Suffrage.

In spite of the obvious justice of their sentence you let them go because their families needed their services—but will their

families reap the benefit? Mr. Hopkins warned you that the "picketing would continue." He was right—it has continued.

The American public is good natured and long suffering—that was well proved before we took up the glorious burden of this war, but are not orderly and law-abiding citizens entitled to protection from annoyance? Is it wise to fan the flame of class jealousy by allowing the deportation from the state (in cattle cars) of undesirable citizens in one section of the country and permitting women of wealth, family and position to violate the laws and go unpunished in another? And not only unpunished, but actually demanding what they consider a reward for their misconduct?

Can it be necessary that to preserve peace within our borders in this time of stress and imperative need for progress, the machinery of government should be halted that these flies on the wheel may bask in the light of publicity?

They who prattle of "democracy" and strive to force the will of the few upon the vast majority; they who shout of patriotism and defame the good name of their country in the hearing of other nations; they who prate of equal rights, but who will not observe them under law—Mr. President, are these to be trusted with the solemn responsibility of suffrage?

I am submitting this question for your serious consideration, and with great respect, I am,

Cordially yours,

ALICE HAY WADSWORTH,

President, National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

## WASHINGTON NEWS AND NOTES

By MRS. RICHARDS

THERE is but one committee in Congress composed of handpicked members whose avowed convictions before appointment were all on one side of the vital question which their committee had been expressly organized to consider. That is the Senate Committee on Suffrage. All other of the 133 committees of Congress are bi-partisan, not only on political questions, but represent varying sentiments on the specific topics which it is the duty of each committee to consider.

But the Senate Committee on Suffrage, with its nine members, provides no representation for the millions of women throughout the country who oppose suffrage, and who are urging Congress to protect them from the threatened invasion by militant women. The committee is composed of Senators Jones (chairman), New Mexico; Owen, Oklahoma; Ransdell, Louisiana; Hollis, New Hampshire; Johnson, South Dakota; Jones, Washington; Nelson, Minnesota; Cummins, Iowa; and Johnson, California. Each of these Senators had, previous to his appointment, expressed himself by voice or vote, as favoring Woman's Suffrage. The full import of this lack of representation for the women who oppose suffrage can be best realized when it is recalled that every petition, resolution or proposed Federal law relating to suffrage must be first placed in the hands of this committee, which considers it behind closed doors, and later reports to the full Senate its findings as to the merits of the case. And committee reports often sway the vote of the Senate.

Perhaps the strangest part of it is, that all of these nine Senators are lawyers of high standing. In justice to his client, not one of them would try a case before a jury until he had first ascertained beyond the possibility of a doubt that not a single jurymen of the twelve empanelled was prejudiced, or had formed an opinion of the case involved. A doubtful jurymen would be rejected on the ground that he was incapable of rendering a fair verdict. Yet it is before this one-minded Senate Committee that all suffrage hearings are heard. Women who urge suffrage face nine friends and sympathizers when they plead their cause. Women who oppose suffrage face nine men who have already formed and expressed an adverse opinion of the cause they plead. Figuratively, they argue their case before a jury which has already pronounced them guilty. In no court of the land would this be permitted—yet that is the situation in the United States Senate to-day. That the nine Senators are high-minded and honorable gentlemen no one questions, and it seems to me quite probable that when their attention is called to the unjust committee conditions they will take steps to remedy the situation, and by some change of personnel give the tremendous mass of women who oppose suffrage some committee representation of their side of the great question involved. In view of the fact that Suffragists are even now attempting to have a packed committee in their favor appointed by the House, with Miss Rankin as chairman, it seems especially important that the United States Senate should put an open stamp of disapproval on partisan committees by amending its own. I do not believe the National House of Representatives will endorse the proposed action of creating a suffrage committee whose members shall be selected for the purpose of making biased reports and who will view the great question wholly from the suffrage standpoint.

The militant topics employed by suffragettes in heckling the President and pestering members of Congress have acted as a boomerang. It has done more harm to the suffrage cause than could have been accomplished by any system evolved by its enemies. Neither President nor Congress will be dragooned into espousing or voting for suffrage. Even the suffrage committee hesitates to put the resolution before the Senate while

the pestiferous heckling continues. War legislation is at the front and women demanding their alleged "rights" are looked upon as a nuisance by the very men on whom they rely for favorable action. Many who believe in suffrage refuse to submit to coercion, while the opponents stand more firmly than ever against it. Scarcely a man in Congress will vote for Woman's Suffrage until the women representing that cause show a better respect for law and order. Their persistent cry, "Let me vote," rings false in the ears of men who are wrestling with the tremendous questions of the world war. The President is harassed by questions of life and death and the fate of the United States hangs in the balance. While the draft calls a million men to the trenches, while devoted and loyal women give their lives to the work of the Red Cross and field nursing, these militants put patriotism in the background and clamor for selfish and personal advancement. I am speaking of indisputable facts. Just glance at the testimony of the militant women when urging suffrage before the House Committee on Judiciary two months ago, and judge for yourself:

Mrs. John Rogers, of New York, said: "Why are we asked to wage a war for the principles of self-government and make great sacrifices when we have no self-government for ourselves?" Miss Lucy Burns went a step farther and said: "It is astonishing that we should be asked to do Red Cross work. \* \* \* Suffrage comes first, and we must devote all our efforts toward freeing the women of the United States." And these are but a sample of the trend of their talk. Commenting on the hearing and the views expressed by these women, one of the members of the committee said to me to-day: "It came about as near treason as anything I have heard since war was declared. They made their vote the price of their patriotism." At the same hearing Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., of New York, our newly elected National President, made a strong and dignified argument against suffrage, which she opened by saying: "We women who oppose suffrage are fighting solely in self-defense, personal and patriotic. We are here under protest and against our inclinations. But we must fight for the preservation of our country, of its ideals, its traditions. We must fight against this feminine army of invasion which comes hammering at our doors." Mrs. Wadsworth then made a forceful plea against national suffrage.

\* \* \*

The militants killed the goose that laid the golden egg, so far as making the fine old Cameron House their headquarters. Their offensive demonstrations and repeated riots and arrests resulted in their being ordered out as undesirable tenants, on account of "treasonable, improper and unpatriotic behavior." The Cameron House is full of historic interest, but of late its beautifully paneled rooms have echoed with militant shouts, and its walls been hung with socialistic banners. It is next door to the exclusive Cosmos Club—which occupies the famous Dolly Madison House—and the boisterous methods of the White House pickets have been a thorn in the flesh of their conservative neighbors, who deplored the desecration of the grand old mansion.

\* \* \*

At this moment the outlook in Congress is: That the suffrage amendment may be favorably reported by the Senate Committee just before the close of the present session, although it is by no means certain; that it will be overwhelmingly defeated should it be brought up for a vote; that the suffrage amendment in the House is not likely to be reported this session by the Judiciary Committee; that no suffrage committee will be appointed in the House.

## THE REAL FOES OF DEMOCRACY

THE *Woman Citizen* publishes an editorial signed by A. S. B., entitled "Foes of Democracy."

A. S. B. accuses the anti-suffragists of being enemies of democracy, because they have expressed the hope that the House of Lords will defeat the English suffrage bill recently passed by the House of Commons. She waxes highly indignant at the thought that opponents of her cause should try to defeat the "expressed will of the representatives of the people" by an appeal to the House of Lords.

Surely, then, by that same token we should expect A. S. B. to denounce the action of the legislatures of Ohio, Nebraska, North Dakota and Michigan for passing statutory suffrage bills and defeating the expressed will of the people of those States, where they voted against woman suffrage by overwhelming majorities only a few months ago.

Instead of which we find her not only defending this act of the legislature, but contending that Congress and the legislatures have a right to misrepresent the people regardless of State Constitutions or popular referenda.

Moreover, when opponents of woman suffrage invoked the referendum on this act of the legislatures in Ohio and Nebraska, as the law provides, she pronounced it "unspeakable treachery" on the part of the anti-suffragists.

As a matter of fact, the opponents of woman suffrage in England believe that the people have been misrepresented by their so-called representatives in the House of Commons, just as the people were misrepresented by the legislature in the States of Ohio, Nebraska, North Dakota and Michigan, and they hope to see the bill defeated in the Upper House of Parliament in order that the question may be voted on by the people themselves. There is no objection on the part of the English Anti-Suffragists to a vote of the electorate on this question, and they are willing to abide by the result. In such a position lies the real democracy.

If suffragists were willing to submit to the democratic principle of the will of the majority they would be less menacing to our institutions, but the methods they employ to override the will of the people, the efforts they make to coerce the world into an acceptance of their ideas is pernicious, undemocratic and un-American.

It is not the opponents of woman suffrage either in America or England who are undemocratic, but the proponents of woman suffrage, who are unpatriotically utilizing a time when the country is straining every nerve to put an end to the war, to "smash through woman suffrage," as they themselves express it. This is the object of the Federal amendment agitation; this is the object of the statutory suffrage bills, and in this lies the real danger to democracy, and in this also lies the real militancy of the suffrage movement.

The leaders of the National Woman Suffrage Association are every whit as militant as the Congressional Union, though the latter is a bit more spectacular about it, and no matter how much the older organization may complain of the *methods* of the Congressional Union, they are in sympathy with their aims. This they do not deny.

What is this aim? To coerce an overburdened President into endorsing a measure to which he has declared himself opposed time after time. This endorsement to be used to coerce a Congress harassed by the difficulties of the world war into passing a measure to which they are opposed in order that it can be crammed down the throats of the people who have repudiated it time and again with increasing majorities.

This is what A. S. B. and her associates call "democracy." Never before in the history of the world has a greater autocracy been proposed.

## SUFFRAGE FANATICISM

THE following editorial is taken from an Omaha paper. The Washington mob that tore down the suffragist banners and assailed the women bearing them as "traitors" was the victim of the same sort of emotional excitement that afflicted the women themselves.

The women are not really traitors, and the members of the mob, in their calmer moments, would know that they are not. They are merely fanatics—cranks is a commoner word—who have dwelt so long and so exclusively on a single idea that they have lost their sense of proportion and relative values. By their banners they were doing their little best to plant distrust and dislike of this country in the hearts of the members of the Russian mission. They were doing their little best to detach Russia from the war, and so to cause thousands of American boys to die in battle who would not need to die if Russia remained in the war and fought with all its might. They were striking, therefore, at the very heart of their own country.

But in their fanaticism they failed to realize what they were doing. Their whole intent was on advancing the suffrage cause, because, to their distorted minds, it is the only important cause in the world. In their blindness to their country's immediate interests they demonstrated their lack of training and qualification for the duties of citizenship. But, then, other fanatics do the same thing, not because they are traitors, but because they are monomaniacs.

We have a touch of that same monomania right here in Nebraska, and it isn't confined to the women either. We have male suffragists, some of them editors of big daily newspapers, who brand as "traitors" and "pro-Germans" and bad, wicked, diseased citizens those who are asking for a referendum of the limited suffrage bill enacted by the last legislature in disregard and defiance of the popular mandate against woman suffrage.

Those who fling such silly and abusive epithets are themselves bad citizens, because contemptuous of the fundamental law, but in their delirium they don't realize it. The situation is as plain as A B C.

The voters of Nebraska, by 10,000 majority, declared against woman suffrage.

The legislature then enacted a woman suffrage law.

Those who oppose it appeal to the referendum, so that the people may say for themselves whether or not they will reverse their decision.

It is perfectly right and proper to resort to the referendum for that purpose. That is what the referendum is for. It is to annul legislative action in defiance of the popular will.

If the suffrage law is not in defiance of the popular will it will not be annulled. If it is, then it will be annulled and should be. Otherwise the whole theory of our government is brought into contempt.

Reasonable men and reasonable women can easily see that this is true. Fanatics cannot, any more than the fanatical suffragists in Washington could, realize the grave impropriety of their action.

Fanaticism, however, does not recognize the possibility of there being honesty and logic and good character in its opponents. And fanaticism finds its votaries among men the same as women, and has served and disgraced good and evil causes alike. It is perhaps the greatest single obstacle to the rational progress of democratic governments.

## THE ENGLISH SUFFRAGE BILL

BY MRS. HUMPHRY WARD

THE following letter on the English situation in the *Anti-Suffrage Review*, by Mrs. Humphry Ward, is a clear exposition of the situation in England. Mrs. Ward's name is a household word wherever the English language is spoken, and what she says carries the weight of a sane, analytical and logical mind:

Sir—A few years ago the present Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, in reply to a Woman Suffrage deputation, declared that he could not "conceive of a revolution of this character being introduced without the opinion of the country being asked upon it *definitely*." Mr. Lloyd George is now prepared, it seems, to effect this revolution by means of a House of Commons which in its earlier and truly representative stage had already decided against it twice over, by increasing majorities; and he is prepared to do this at a time when some 200 members of the House are either on active service abroad, or unable to give continuous attendance in Parliament owing to the preoccupations of the war, and when two million male electors or more are fighting for their country overseas.

That is to say, neither absent members of Parliament nor absent electors are to have any chance of recording their opinion on a measure which potentially transfers the sovereignty of this State to a body of women electors—since no one believes for one moment that the age limitations of the Speaker's Conference will hold, or are meant to hold. Indeed, the Prime Minister, in his subsequent speech to a Suffragist deputation, showed plainly enough by his jocular reference to the suggested age limit how long he expected it to last. And when the Adult Suffragists have their way, as it is quite clear they will have it, once the principle of Woman Suffrage is admitted, then we come back to the root fact—the large majority of women over men in these islands, now much increased by the huge sacrifice of life that men have made for their country in the war.

Mr. Lloyd George spoke of the refusal to give the vote immediately to women so as to enable them to vote on industrial conditions after the war, as an "outrage." Is not the refusal to allow any consultation of the country on the carrying through of so great a revolution the real "outrage"? When Mr. Lloyd George in former days refused to take this step, industrial conditions as they affected women and the industrial relations between women and men were in the forefront of the Suffragist argument. He then brushed them aside. Industrial conditions or no industrial conditions, it was inconceivable that such a question should be settled "unless the country had been *definitely* consulted."

What has made the difference between now and then? The answer given is—the work of women in the munition factories, and, generally the largely increased number of women that the war has brought into industrial and public employment. Their part in the war is compared to that of men, and on the ground of equal importance and equal sacrifice the Imperial vote is to be given.

Which of us is not proud of the part taken by women in the supply of that mighty weight of ammunition which is now blasting for us the way to victory? Women form about a sixth of the army of munition workers who stand behind our armies in the field, and it is a most vital and important sixth. Personally, I happen to have seen a good deal of the work of women in munitions, and I have tried to describe it so as to communicate to others the emotion it roused in myself. And it is true that women will stand in much need of industrial protection after the war.

But I have also seen the battlefields of the Somme; I have seen the wounded coming in after an action. To compare the

work and sacrifice of women in this war with the work and sacrifice of men seems to me merely grotesque.

It is true, thank God, that in this war British women have been diligent and brave. Did we expect them to be anything else? The work of the girls in the munition factories—not one of whom, by the way, would get a vote under the present proposals—will live in history. But when one thinks, on the one hand, of the large and cheerful factories, well warmed and ventilated, of the small proportion of accidents that occur, even in handling the most deadly explosives, of the high wages, the good food, the rest rooms, the welfare superintendence, and then turns one's mind to the long months and years of trench warfare, the bitter cold and exposure, the heart-breaking mud, the deadly ever-present dangers, the horrible deaths and mutilations, the packed burial grounds on the Somme battlefields, the hundreds and thousands of young lives laid down without a murmur, that England may live—why, the true and ultimate sanction of the Parliamentary vote becomes clearer than ever. It is the physical force, the bone and blood of men! Much good moral suasion would have done us in this war! It is the strong right arm, the physical strength of men, that is settling our righteous quarrel and saving our country. Everything else is subsidiary—valuable and necessary, but subsidiary.

As to the conditions surrounding the lives of working women, let Mr. Lloyd George do a very simple thing. Let him—amending an extraordinary provision in the present bill—bring in a short measure giving immediately the local government to the wives of the Parliamentary electors, in addition to the present women electors. Such a bill, if the Suffragist party agreed, could—probably—be passed with acclamation, and all but general consent, through Parliament in a few days. The proposal, backed by Unionist and Liberal members, was brought forward in the House of Commons in 1913, and if I remember right, as the chairman of the Local Government Advancement Committee, I was partly concerned in helping to draft it. Neither Mr. Asquith nor Mr. Lloyd George gave it the smallest support; nor did any of the Suffragist members, except those whose names were on the bill. But if it were now carried into law it would give immediate expression, if formal expression is wanted, to the gratitude of the nation for the work of women in the war. It would grant to all the married women of the nation, thousands of whom are in the munition works, that direct constitutional voice in the administration of affairs immediately concerning their daily lives as wives, mothers and citizens—the schools of their children, the health conditions of the towns in which they live, the training of their older boys and girls, and a score of other matters, moral, educational, sanitary, of the highest importance—which has been too long denied them. Moreover, the presence in the country of such a large body of women electors must necessarily exercise great influence over legislation; if woman suffrage is to come, it would provide an intermediate educative stage; and in the present plastic conditions of politics nothing would be easier than by some form of Statutory Committee, to set up connections of the greatest practical importance between such a body, the women representatives on county and borough councils—and Parliament.

But I am perfectly aware that such a step would not satisfy the Suffragist party, at any rate its more clamorous sections. You would not thereby—in the enforced absence of those primarily concerned—transfer, immediately or ultimately, the political sovereignty of the United Kingdom from one sex to the other. You would not thereby enable the skilled women organizers whom this generation has developed, to put in or put out a male government, under the peculiarities of our constitution, or to

coerce men in matters where men alone should decide. You would not prejudge the Imperial settlement, involving the whole Empire and not these islands only, which must come after the war; to which many of us who care no less for the cause of women than our suffragist friends, have long looked forward, as likely to bring with it the solution of the Woman Suffrage problem. But the Suffragist party would still have their fair and equal chance. For them there would remain that definite consultation of the electorate—both of men and women—which in the case of men only, Mr. Lloyd George once regarded as indispensable. And the local government bill I have described would provide the women electorate.

A double referendum—to the women first, either to the women over thirty, to whom the government bill proposes to give the vote, or to an enlarged local government electorate; and secondly to the male electors, who at present hold the sovereignty of this State. Let the Suffragists win that—or a general election on the question—and Woman Suffrage will come with the considered assent of the country.

But to rush this vital change through Parliament at the present moment at the bidding of the majority of a small Parliamentary Committee, however eminent and able, would be—I repeat—the true “outrage.” Nothing could be less democratic, less constitutional, less English. It is said that the opinion of the soldiers in France, and of the wounded men in hospital at home and abroad is strongly divided as to the proposed Woman Suffrage clause in the new reform bill, and largely resentful of the fact that it is proposed to carry it through Parliament without any reference whatever to the male electors of this Kingdom. This may be true or false. It is, at any

rate, certain that there is only one way of ascertaining the truth—and that is by asking the male electors to vote.

It is said also that the action of the Government is really due to an understanding between the leaders of both parties that the matter must be “settled” now, so as to avoid the nuisance of a recrudescence of militancy after the war. If this is so, then lawlessness and arson and violence have had a triumph indeed, which may well be noted by other members of the body politic. But I refuse to believe that the sovereign rights of the absent male electors—men who are every day giving their lives for England and the Empire—are to be altered or vitally weakened, without their consent, for such a reason.

Let me end with an appeal to my own sex.

There is a passage in one of the recent war telegrams which gives to think. A correspondent describing the tragic sufferings of the women and children during the bombardment of Lens and its neighborhood, says, “Yet in a few days I shall meet these women, and they will smile and say, ‘Yes, it was terrible, but our sons have suffered so much more.’” And the women of France, suffering everywhere, working everywhere, whether in munition factories, or on the land, are not clamoring for a great constitutional change in the middle of this terrible war. Are our women to be less patriotic, less mindful of the charge committed to them, when their husbands and sons left them to accept the worst possibilities of sufferings and death for the country's sake? To our women workers everywhere I would say—“Protest against the course which is being taken in your name! Wait till the fighting men come home, and then, men and women together, take counsel, for the good of this great Empire.”

## A WELCOME CONTRAST

BY MRS. HORACE BROCK,  
President Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

To the Editor, *Harrisburg Patriot*.

Sir—In your issue of yesterday I notice a letter from Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in which she contrasts the patriotism of the Suffragists and the Antis. It is a contrast we gladly welcome, for our ideas of patriotism are as different from the Suffragists' ideas as our ideas are of democracy. We stand for the ideas and form of government given us by the great patriots we remember on the Fourth of July.

In January, 1916, when Miss Shaw and Mrs. Catt were active pacifists as members of the Woman's Peace Party, led by Miss Jane Addams, and opposing military preparedness, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage passed a resolution “That adequate measures for national defense should receive the support of every loyal American, and that women everywhere should strive to further the cause of preparedness.” On February 9, 1917, the National Association offered its services to the President to serve in any way in which it could be of use, and its members, although not office seekers, are actively engaged in patriotic work to-day.

On June 29, 1916, the National Anti-Suffrage Association, whose members were actively engaged in Red Cross work, urged co-operation with the Red Cross and other patriotic organizations. In a Suffrage edition of the *New York Evening Post*, issued a few hours later, on the same day, Anna Garland Spencer, after lauding the Suffragists for disdaining “force,” said, “In the main the Antis are Red Cross workers and are ardent supporters of navy and land defense.” The *New York Times* of October 19, 1916, called attention to the fact that not one woman prominent among the Suffragists had declared herself for military preparedness and against peace without honor.

The leaders in preparedness in Pennsylvania, Mrs. George W. C. Drexel, Mrs. J. Gardner Cassatt, Mrs. George Dallas Dixon and Mrs. A. J. Cassatt, head of the Emergency Aid, and hundreds of others are not Suffragists, and Mrs. J. Gardner Cassatt, first vice-president of preparedness and acting president in Mrs. Drexel's absence, is a vice-president of the Pennsylvania Anti-Suffrage Association. She was acting president in my absence during several months of the campaign in 1915.

The *Toronto Daily News*, May 12, 1917, in describing Mrs. Catt's lecture in that city, says: “Mrs. Catt never reached national defense or anything else but votes for women,” and it rebukes her for her abuse of her own government, saying: “Surely even the most ordinary ideas of decency would be sufficient to suggest that her diatribe be confined to the borders of her own country.”

Before the National Council of Defense was appointed by the President, the National League for Woman's Service was organized by Miss Maud Wetmore and Miss Anne Morgan, neither of them Suffragists. Several States were organized and active work was started and the co-operation of national organizations was asked. The Anti-Suffragists immediately accepted this invitation, but the Suffragists declined, as they could not lead or control it.

Why, then has the leopard tried to change its spots? The Suffragists have answered the question themselves. It is for the “reward.” This looms loud and large in every speech.

If this is what the Suffragists consider patriotism, then the Antis are indeed unpatriotic, for their motto is, and always has been, cheerful obedience to lawful authority and disinterested service.

Philadelphia, June 26, 1917.

MRS. HORACE BROCK.

## SIGNIFICANT FACTS

From a recent leaflet published by the Massachusetts Association

**S**UFFRAGISTS are distributing broadcast a leaflet which calls the attention of Massachusetts women to the fact that twelve bills for the welfare of women and children were defeated by the Massachusetts legislature at its last session. (One of these was a suffrage bill and cannot therefore justly be claimed as a bill for the welfare of women and children.)

The suffragists maintain that it is because Massachusetts women cannot vote that these bills were defeated. Their leaflet ends with these statements:

*Do legislators listen more favorably to women who are voters than to women who are outside politics and can therefore appeal equally to men of all parties? Let us see.*

Ten bills for the benefit of women and children were passed by the Massachusetts Legislature at its last session (1916). Three bills were presented by women and all were passed.

In Colorado, women voters, both Democratic and Republican, were so unsuccessful in getting bills passed in their last legislature (1915) that some of the leaders suggest that they try to work together on non-partisan lines as women do in male suffrage States, hoping in this way to accomplish something. This is nothing short of a confession that politics for women has proved a failure in securing good legislation. Even a bill for the maintenance of the Home for Dependent Children was rejected in Colorado, and this State institution is now forced to depend on private charity.

In the 1917 legislature, now in session, the Anderson bill to extend the child labor law to exclude children under fourteen from working in the beet fields has been killed. This bill was supported by the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Mothers' Congress and the W. C. T. U. Evidently the Colorado Legislature is not listening to this class of women voters!

The last legislatures of Louisiana, Maryland, New York and South Carolina all improved their child labor laws and raised the age at which children may work. Women do not vote in these States.

California women have lost their Homestead right since women got the vote.

The property rights of women in Massachusetts are far superior to those in most suffrage States.

In the last Wyoming Legislature (1915), a bill was passed allowing children under fourteen years of age to work nine hours a day. This was after women had voted for forty-six years. In Massachusetts children under sixteen can work only eight hours. In proportion to population, more children between the ages of ten and thirteen are employed in Wyoming than in Massachusetts, and yet Wyoming has not one of the standard child labor provisions.

In the last Arizona Legislature (1915), a teachers' pension bill was introduced three times by Mrs. Berry, a woman legislator, and was defeated each time.

In Massachusetts such a bill went through without a dissenting vote.

Oregon is the only State which has recently gone backward in child labor legislation by weakening or nullifying its fourteen-year limit in factories and canneries. Women vote in Oregon.

The Washington Legislature of 1915 took no forward step in social legislation. The Mothers' Pension Law was changed so that it is no longer applicable to mothers abandoned by their husbands. Amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Act providing first aid to the injured was defeated. A bill providing for one day's rest in seven in mechanical and mercantile establishments was killed. A uniform child labor bill was indefinitely postponed, and the White Slave Act was denied a place on the calendar for the House. (See the Survey of July 10, 1915.)

Mrs. Ina P. Williams, the only woman member of the Washington Legislature, admits that the men in the present legislature

(1917) are opposing a bill which she is trying to put through, not because they object to the bill, but because of *sex antagonism*. They do not want her, a woman politician whom they consider as a rival, to get the credit of it. The fact that she has the vote and is in politics is standing in the way of her bill.

The *New York World* two years ago gave as its reason for favoring woman suffrage that woman reformers without the vote have *too much influence* with legislatures in passing what the *World* considers goody-goody laws. Its editor favors woman suffrage because he believes the ballot in woman's hands will *destroy* the power of the women whose *moral influence without the vote* is strong. Judging from results in suffrage states, the *World* was right.

The claim that women with the vote are better able to secure good legislation than women without the vote *has no foundation in fact*.

**WOMEN LOSE THEIR MORAL INFLUENCE WHEN THEY ENTER POLITICS.**

**WOMEN IN POLITICS AROUSE SEX ANTAGONISM, AND THIS RESULTS EVERYWHERE IN LESSENING THE INFLUENCE OF WOMAN AND LOWERING HER SOCIAL STATUS.**

**WOMEN HAVE ALREADY LOST SOME OF THEIR PROPERTY RIGHTS IN CALIFORNIA SINCE THEY ENTERED POLITICS.**

Guard the rights, the influence and the privileges which are yours against the attempts of the suffragists to destroy them! "To turn women out of the home into politics is to start a fire the end of which no living prophet can foresee."—Octave Thanet.

**B**Y no means the least ridiculous part of the White House picketing episode is the attempt of certain "leaders" to explain what they term "the difference between our policies and those of the militant organization." Last February the same thing happened when Mrs. Harper, chairman of the national suffrage press committee, bombarded the country with "repudiations" of militancy. However, in an up-State paper she made this significant admission: "But there is no reason why both parties should not go on with their respective work, since the main object of both is exactly the same."

Woman suffrage propaganda has been developed and kept alive by highly financed publicity "stunts." The resort to greater and greater sensationalism as one stunt after the other becomes stale is inherent in a "cause" dependent for existence upon emotional appeal. Now that certain of its disciples are playing politics, the political arena becomes the stage of their performances. Leopards do not change their spots; and considerations of patriotism, of democratic respect for the vast majority, of good taste, of fairmindedness, of common sense, of political ethics, are not the heritage of suffrage propaganda.

Hiking, street parading, corner shouting, public discussion of unmentionable subjects, vulgar exploitation of vice, soap-box oratory, heckling of public men, brazen impertinences of feminist doctrine, slogans like "No vote, no baby," and the putting of young girls upon the streets to solicit suffrage money and votes, all perpetrated by "conservative" suffrage propaganda, have led inevitably to banner unfurling in Congress, to White House pickets, and to arrest.

Suffragists can no more repudiate militancy than they can repudiate the radical utterances of their dominant leaders. It is a simple but transparent device for one group to be militant for the sake of priceless publicity, and for a few others to repudiate them "officially" as a concession to the public's sense of decency—and for more publicity.

There is nothing new in the unprincipled notion that the "end justifies the means"—and what is hysteria verging on insanity in one woman may be merely the result of cold and calculating deliberation in another. "Martyrdom" serves at once the instincts of the "martyr" and the purposes of the demagogue.

CHARLOTTE E. ROWE.

## NOTES FROM THE STATES

THE following article, reprinted from the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, gives our readers an excellent idea of the activities which are now absorbing the anti-suffrage workers in Maryland:

## ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS BUSY WITH WAR WORK

By EMILY E. LANTZ

There is one very beautiful characteristic common to women. In the face of any great calamity they forget personal differences of opinion and come helpfully to each other's aid. The hands of women are instinctively consecrated to service, to healing, to benediction, and that is why during this present crisis in world and war history Baltimore women of differing creeds and social status, differing political views and even political antagonisms, have forgotten completely these points of unlikeness and are completely united in one common ideal and purpose—that of service to country and civilization. Because of this red roses, symbolic of the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, bloom sweetly beside the gold and black standard upheld by the local organization affiliated with the National American Woman Suffrage Association. In Maryland's great feminine army enlisted for war relief work there is one common flag, the Star-Spangled Banner, that has been the inspiration of the American people since 1776, when a few determined Colonial provinces banded together in the name of freedom and became the United States of America.

Among the women's organizations most actively and patriotically identified with war relief work through its members since the fateful August of 1914, is the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, which was organized in February, 1911, with Mrs. Robert Garrett as its first president. The organization exists as an outward and visible expression of opinion on the part of many conservative women of the State, that the political need of the United States is not an increased quantity, but an improved quality of voters. They believe that the privilege of franchise, which their political antagonists regard as an individual right denied to women, carries with it grave and heavy moral obligations which in their opinion it is not the immediate duty of women to assume. They believe the household and not the individual is the unit of the State. It is their conviction that men are as loyal to their families as to their country, and may be trusted to fight for the defense of both and frame equitable laws for their protection. These are the opinions firmly fixed and resolutely supported by this group of women and thus far sustained by the legislators of the State.

But to-day, with the nation engaged in war and confronted with problems of world

defense and self-preservation, the "antis," as their suffrage opponents call them, have thrown themselves unreservedly into patriotic service and have been as untiring in endeavor and as successful in achievement as any body of women in Maryland. As a group these women possess social influence; as individuals they have been directing social affairs or philanthropic enterprises all their lives. Except in the matter of opposing woman suffrage, theirs is an elastic organization, held together more by ties of intimate acquaintance than rules of a club constitution. This one thing they do as a body, for the rest, each works in chosen way, and often that way is one of tender and practical helpfulness to humanity. Since August, 1914, every line of patriotic service has known their helping hands.

No sooner had German legions devastated Belgium cities and made refugees of the Belgian people than Mrs. Robert Garrett, president of the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, called an executive meeting September 24, 1914, and members of the association began the work of collecting contributions for these sufferers all over the State. Boxes were sent from Frederick, Oakland, Hagerstown, Luther ville, Ruxton, from Fort Monroe, from Charleston, W. Va., and from other towns. From "anti" headquarters, then at 526 North Charles Street, were shipped hundreds of garments, including 24 wholly new suits for boys, 200 suits for women, 100 suits and 50 overcoats for men, 100 shawls and 75 wraps, 200 pairs of shoes, 25 blankets and comforts, 60 knitted mufflers, besides unnumbered miscellaneous garments and quantities of bedding. Six hundred dollars was also sent, and where fabric in bulk was contributed members of the association cut the materials out and saw that they were made into garments. Relief ships sailing from New York and Baltimore ports carried promptly to Belgium's aid splendid offerings of money and clothing contributed by or obtained through the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

In Red Cross work the "antis" have been unfailingly helpful, and when recent local work was reorganized it was Mrs. Francis T. Redwood, honorary vice-president of the association, who instituted the Maryland Department of Women's Service of the Baltimore Chapter American National Red Cross, and started classes in surgical dressings, home nursing, dietetics and first aid. To Mrs. Redwood was also largely due initial work of Baltimore women in preparing surgical dressings and making garments for Maryland's basic hospital.

Mrs. Oscar Leser, president of the association, was appointed by Governor Har-

ington, April 5, 1917, a member of the State Women's Preparedness and Survey Commission (which is now become the Women's Section, Maryland Council for Defense), and was immediately elected treasurer of that council. She is also on the City Food Commission.

Mrs. T. Harrison Garrett, honorary vice-president of the association, has labored indefatigably in war relief and has offered her residence and estate, Evergreen, on Charles Street Avenue, to the Government for war service. The stately mansion, impressive with classic pillars, set in a garden of Italian formality, shadowed by forest trees, has been accepted by the Government and will probably be used for convalescent hospital purposes.

Mrs. William Reed, who has represented the State of Maryland on the woman's boards of several American expositions and is an honorary vice-president of the "antis," is also serving on the Council for Defense, as chairman of the committee on comforts for sailors and soldiers, while Mrs. Albert Sioussat, another honorary vice-president, is chairman of the West Baltimore center committee which is the distributing base for Red Cross working circles in that neighborhood. She has also been assisting most efficiently through lectures and moving picture films in the work of educating immigrants to knowledge of American ideals and principles of government.

Mrs. Robert Garrett, first president of the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and now first vice-president of the organization, was chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Liberty Loan for Maryland. She was assisted by Mrs. Edward Shoemaker, representing the Governor's Commission; Mrs. Edward Stinson, church agencies; Mrs. J. Clarke Dulany, chairman of the committee on meetings; Miss Kate McLane, Red Cross; Miss Sally Carter, National Defense League; Mrs. Francis M. Jencks, Civic League; Mrs. William Pedrick, Maryland State Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Sidney Cone, Baltimore Section Council Jewish Women; Mrs. William Cabell Bruce and Mrs. Thomas B. Harrison, members at large; Miss Mary Read Lucas, secretary. To avoid delay in forming Liberty Loan committees throughout the State Mrs. Garrett asked county chairmen of the Governor's Commission to act as local chairmen for the Liberty Loan, supplying each with a list of all women's organizations in their counties. The results were most gratifying. Letters were sent to the principals of all high schools in Maryland asking them to take up the Liberty Loan with their teachers. Thirty-five meetings were arranged in cities and counties to which speakers were sent from the central office and while the committee considers it-

self disbanded, Maryland's quota to the Liberty Loan being assured, its members are willing to reassemble should occasion for its use arise.

Mrs. David McIntosh, Jr., who is a vice-president of the "antis" has proved a wonderfully stimulating county chairman, especially in the Thrift department. Under her capable leadership the women of Baltimore county have been organized for food conservation; community gardens have been established, canning classes organized, Liberty bonds sold, and Red Cross work carried to successful conclusion and a general educational campaign carried on to prepare Baltimore county women for almost any condition the war may bring about. Mrs. R. Bennett Darnell, of Ruxton, an "anti," is a member of the motor messenger service and holds herself and her car ready for any patriotic service she can perform. She is also busy with Red Cross duties. All of the county "antis" are putting up jams and jellies for the soldiers and have long been working to equip the Hopkins unit, to supply dressings for the surgical dressing committee for the Red Cross.

Mrs. John Haslup Adams, chairman of the legislative committee of the "antis," had charge of the Liberty Loan campaign in Ruxton, under Mrs. David G. McIntosh, Jr., who is the Baltimore county chairman on the Woman Section Maryland Council for Defense. Most successfully Mrs. Adams did her bit in furthering Uncle Sam's patriotic banking effort, and she is now visiting every home in Ruxton and vicinity getting the women of that neighborhood to pledge themselves to support the United States Government in its food administration campaign. In this work Mrs. Robert Garrett has also been untiringly active, having been among the first to circulate among her large list of acquaintances pledges to abstain from eating the meat of young animals, to conserve cereals and fats and eliminate waste in household administration.

Mrs. James W. Boyle, an "anti," is a chairman of one of the units of the Woman's Section of the Navy League and has been doing most efficient work among this group of women pledged to "think, talk and work for patriotism, Americanism and sufficient national defense." Mrs. M. C. Talbot has been one of those many faithful, loyal women who have knitted, and knitted, and knitted, that soldiers and sailors might be warmly clad to withstand the exposure to wind and weather incident to military and naval life. Mrs. Campbell Mortimer and Miss Ella Holt have been materially assisting in the French relief work among those blinded in battle, while the Misses Fowler have worked earnestly on a committee to secure the adoption of Belgian children and to assist crippled soldiers of France.

## NEW YORK

The Anti-Suffragists in all sections of New York State, after having devoted themselves since the declaration of war to Red Cross work, to selling of Liberty Bonds, and to every variety of relief activity, are now planning an intensive anti-suffrage campaign, to be pushed zealously during the remaining months before election.

New York State is to be congratulated upon the election of the wife of their senior senator as President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. Mrs. Wadsworth has already evidenced her keen interest in the campaign in New York, and will keep in close touch through Miss Chittenden with everything that is done in this State.

The Red Cross team in New York City of which Miss Alice Hill Chittenden was captain during Red Cross week secured \$46,000. Miss Chittenden absolutely refused to have her team labeled an "anti-suffrage team," believing that a political question should not be in any way introduced in Red Cross work. She therefore selected for her Red Cross team women with whom she was associated in the canteen service of the National League for Woman's Service, some of her assistants being suffragists. Her experience during that memorable week was final proof of the splendid manner in which women can work together in harmony when the question of suffrage is eliminated.

The partisanship of many suffragists is even affecting war relief work, and it is becoming daily more evident that the power of a united womanhood, working along non-partisan lines, would be practically unlimited.

Billboard posters have been placed in prominent positions throughout Greater New York, the first series covering the following paragraphs, respectively:

Stand by the Women  
VOTE NO on Woman Suffrage  
NOVEMBER 6.

WE BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY  
The First Principle of which is  
Majority Rule.  
THE MAJORITY OF WOMEN  
DO NOT WANT TO VOTE.

DO YOU WISH TO FIGHT WOMEN  
In Political Competition?  
DO YOU WANT POLITICS IN YOUR  
HOME?

We believe the men of the State capable of conducting the Government for the benefit of both men and women.

Miss Clara Markeson has been working recently throughout Herkimer and Otsego Counties with gratifying results.

Miss Marjorie Dorman has made addresses in Herkimer and twice in Johnstown at important meetings.

The great summer interest of the campaign now centers in the county fairs, about forty of which will be covered.

An annex has been opened in the Bronx, with Mrs. Dobbin in charge.

A largely attended strawberry festival at the Waterburg Grange, near Ithaca, was the occasion of a debate between Miss Charlotte Rowe and Professor Schmidt, of Cornell University.

Elmira is one of the cities most recently aligning themselves strongly with the anti-suffrage movement. Miss Lucy Price, as the guest of Mrs. William G. Gregg, had two triumphs in Elmira, one before the Rotary Club and the other in the Woman's Federation Building.

Under the auspices of the Utica Auxiliary, Miss Price traveled from Elmira to Little Falls, Middleville, Frankfort, Ilioh, Camden and Richfield Springs, with meetings at each place. In Little Falls two meetings were held, one at the home of Mrs. J. J. Gibberts, in the afternoon, and the other at the Y. M. C. A. building. Mrs. H. S. Getman was in charge of the Frankfort meeting.

The Troy Auxiliary has opened headquarters at 6 Second Street, in charge of Miss M. S. Bent, of Cambridge, Mass.

## DELAWARE

The Delaware Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage held a meeting of the Executive Committee on Saturday, July 21, at the home of Mrs. Preston Lea, of Wilmington. The attendance was satisfactory for so late in the season, and the Association was much pleased to hear of the change of headquarters to Washington and of the election of Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., as president.

The leaflet for raising money for the National Association was read, and it was stated that if each State Association would co-operate in issuing this leaflet a large sum could be turned over to the National for campaign work and statutory suffrage.

The leaflet was unanimously adopted, and it was decided to get it out by the 26th of July to every automobile owner in the State.

It was also decided to take a rest tent for the Delaware State Fair, September 3, for one week, where families could rest, eat their lunches and leave their tired children.

As Delaware has a membership of 22,928 women over twenty-one years of age, it was not thought necessary to enroll or put out propaganda other than the sale of buttons and the distribution of leaflets, and to confine our efforts to making a home-like resting place for the many weary thousands who frequent the fair grounds.

## MASSACHUSETTS

**R** EPORT of Hearing before Committee on Suffrage of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, Wednesday, July 11, 1917.

Sixteen women, each representing one of the Congressional districts of the State, stood in a semi-circle before the committee convention, read the vote cast on the suffrage question in each district in 1915, and asked the committee not to report a suffrage amendment to the convention.

"We are asked by our Government to remain in our homes," said Mrs. John Balch of Milton, the leader of the group. "We are asked to conserve the food supply of the nation. To do that we must retain our strength, and if you report a suffrage amendment to the people of the State, we shall feel it our duty to leave our homes and to go out again, as we did two years ago, to spend large sums of money and physical strength to defeat it. Save us the trouble."

The women who formed the "State Circle," the most impressive feature of the entire hearing, which lasted for three hours, were, from the first to the sixteenth district, respectfully: Miss Anna Dawes of Pittsfield, Mrs. Blake of Northbridge, Mrs. George R. Wallace of Fitchburg, Mrs. Edward Kinsley of Worcester, Mrs. Nelson Bradford of Concord, Mrs. George Carter of Haverhill, Mrs. Ralph Reed of Lynn, Mrs. Benjamin Norton of Arlington, Mrs. F. S. Redding of Chelsea, Mrs. John R. Murphy of Charleston, Mrs. John T. Rooney of Jamaica Plain, Mrs. James Gookin of Dorchester, Mrs. William P. Shreve of Brookline, Mrs. Thomas N. Perkins of Westwood, Miss Flora Mason of Taunton and Mrs. Oliver Howe of Cohasset.

Mrs. Stephen F. Fitzgerald, in charge of the opposition to the proposed Washburn suffrage amendment, introduced a score of speakers. All were from cities and towns within the State. "We represent the truly democratic women of Massachusetts," Mrs. Fitzgerald said. "We will show you that the women of this State neither need nor desire the right to vote, and we will not go to other States of this nation, or to countries abroad for our speakers."

Mrs. Frank Foxcroft, chairman of Cambridge Branch, quoted a number of the radical statements made by leaders of the suffrage movement. "They represent the beliefs of a large number of suffragists," she said, "and the next step after securing the vote will be to try to enforce these radical movements."

Mrs. W. W. Churchill of Milton declared that it is no more injustice to women to have them live under man-made laws than

it is for them to live in man-made houses or to ride in man-constructed elevated trains.

The means by which the progress of suffrage was obtained in Western States was recited by other speakers, and Mrs. A. J. George of Brookline attacked the suffragists for their careless use of words, exclaiming dramatically at one point, "Oh, Democracy, what trash is uttered in thy name!"

Mrs. Matthew Sullivan spoke on the equality of men and women. She said that women are superior to men in the nursing of children, but man holds the first place in fighting the savages.

Miss Annie E. Simmons, Miss Georgianna Lane, Miss Edith Melvin and a number of other Boston business women opposed the proposed suffrage amendment as did Mrs. Herbert Lyman of Cohasset, president of the College Anti-Suffrage League.

On the rebuttal, Mrs. John Balch emphasized the argument of her anti-suffrage associates by declaring that votes for women are only the first step toward woman's interference with the execution of the laws.

## OHIO

**T**HE Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has opened headquarters at 145 East State Street, Columbus. This will be the center of anti-suffrage activities during the campaign which ends on election day, November 6th.

As previously announced in the columns of the *PROTEST*, a petition bearing over 100,000 names was filed with the Secretary of State as provided by law on May 19th, which called for a referendum of the Reynolds Act passed by the legislature last winter extending presidential suffrage to the women of Ohio. Woman suffrage had twice been defeated by overwhelming majorities in Ohio, and last fall a poll of the women of the State was taken on the question which showed the tremendous majority of 94 per cent. opposed; yet in spite of this expressed opinion of the voters and of the women of the State the legislature acting as representatives of the people who elected them deliberately misrepresented the votes of their constituents at the polls at the previous State election. This shows plainly that the men sent to the legislature either voted their own personal opinions in the matter or allowed themselves to be bullied or persuaded by a particularly vociferous suffrage lobby.

After the legislature had passed this bill, so obnoxious to the voters of the State, the

Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage immediately began work on the petition. Over 100,000 names were secured. Ever since the petition was filed the suffragists have tried in every way to obstruct its operation. Every name that could be questioned was thrown out. Such small technicalities as a ditto mark under an address where two signers came from the same town was excuse enough for throwing out a name. It is the hope of the suffragists that enough such flaws may be found to defeat the petition and thus defeat the will of the people. But with 30,000 names in reserve this is not probable.

In the meantime the Ohio Association is beginning a campaign of education which will lead to sure victory in November and once more democracy will triumph.

## NEBRASKA

**O**N July 21 petitions were filed for submission of the recall of the partial suffrage act of the last legislature in Nebraska by Mrs. L. V. Crofoot, Mrs. W. N. Jameson and Mrs. C. C. George, of Omaha.

The petitions bear 32,471 names from seventy-eight counties, fifty-four of the counties having a sufficient number of names each. It requires 29,146 names from at least thirty-eight counties to make the petition sufficient.

The filing of the petition last Saturday means that the women will not get a chance to vote at the next election, as the law provides that where sufficient names are secured for a recall referendum on any laws passed by the legislature the law is suspended until after the recall is voted upon.

Mrs. Edward Porter Peck, president of the Nebraska Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in a personal letter to the editor, writes: "Our petition is filed with some 4,000 extra names for good measure, because the suffragists threatened all sorts of things and now they are in a black rage, because, having judged by our silence that we intended to let the legislative action pass, they had organized a new society, called 'The Woman Voters League,' had had several meetings of a few of their number enthusiastically reported in the local papers and had arranged for a parade on Tuesday and a grand registration of the new voters. Naturally, we have had some lively letters in the papers, containing much abuse. Mrs. Crofoot, Mrs. George and I have been called 'a bunch of crooks,' which helps some, as you know."

## CONNECTICUT

HAVING won such a decisive victory in the legislature this spring in the defeat of the statutory bill, the members of the Connecticut Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage are doing quiet work in opposing suffrage. All their time and energy is being expended in patriotic work.

They are staunch supporters of the cause, and are canvassing the State and distributing through the country the pamphlet called the "Case Against Woman Suffrage."

The suffragists in Washington are antagonizing the people of Connecticut and in this way the cause is tremendously helped.

## GEORGIA

THE House Committee on Constitutional Amendments of the Georgia Legislature gave a hearing on proposed suffrage bills, July 19th. The Georgia Association was represented by Miss Caroline Patterson, who made a short address and introduced the speakers. Miss Mildred Rutherford, of Athens, one of the most distinguished women of the South, made a powerful address. Mr. Eugene Anderson also delivered a strong address against the bill.

The suffragists and "Antis" were given an equal share of the allotted time. A late comer, a suffrage leader, rose and began a eulogy on Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. A member of the committee said: "Mr. Chairman, they have had their time, and the anti-suffragists have another speaker. I object." The suffragist threw back her head and shoulders and said, "I have the floor and am going to keep it." The legislator, one of Georgia's strong, intelligent young men, came over and said to Miss Patterson, "You see that militancy; that is what we would have if they had the vote."

The committee voted unanimously against woman suffrage and at the close they, with other members of the House and Senate gave the antis an ovation. Many congratulated Miss Rutherford, who wields a great influence in the State. One man said, "Miss Patterson, I am glad there are two such women in the State." She replied, "There are many more, you just do not see them here."

Members of the Georgia Association have sent letters and literature to the legislators and received many letters encouraging them. Bishop Warren Candler wrote a note to congratulate Miss Patterson on the "splendid fight" before the committee.

The members of the Georgia Association are actively engaged in Red Cross, conducting classes in surgical dressings and sewing. Mrs. Henry McHatton, one of the vice-presidents, has given the use of her handsome residence for Red Cross headquarters and here are conducted most of the classes and are kept all the supplies of the Macon Chapter, one of the largest in the State.

## PENNSYLVANIA

OPPOSITION to Woman Suffrage is in itself a patriotic duty. We are fighting one of the most insidious foes attacking our nation, and for the preservation of American ideals of government and womanhood.

All our members are actively engaged in Red Cross and other patriotic and relief work, and we have desired to do something also as an Association. How to do this, for a time it was difficult to decide, but opportunities opened for us in unexpected ways.

In May there was a large Red Cross meeting and we were asked to advertise in the program. We took the back cover and were able to print on it the names of the officers of our Association and Men's Advisory Committee, and the attitude of our Associations, national and State, to military preparedness and patriotic work, contrasting it with the sayings and doings of the suffragists during the last year or two. Later, we advertised in the Dog Show and Horse Show programs, the profits upon which were also given to the Red Cross. In these programs our advertisements appeared opposite the list of exhibitors, and in one we took up the enormous increase in taxation in woman suffrage States, and in

the other jury duty. We have also advertised in several other publications with large circulations; one a labor journal, the profits upon which are devoted to the relief of sick and disabled workmen.

When the Pennsylvania Committee of the Woman's Division of the Council of National Defense was organized, our Association was invited to become a member of the Council with the President of the State on the executive committee. The offer was immediately accepted and work started by our Association. Food leaflets were printed and largely distributed by our members throughout the State to prepare the women of Pennsylvania, especially in the farming districts, for signing the Hoover cards. It is definitely known that because of this work thousands of cards have been signed which would not have been otherwise.

In Lebanon County the President of the Association had charge of the work of distributing and collecting the Hoover pledge cards. She was assisted by an able corps of women and automobiles working under her. The whole county was covered and good results obtained. Our members are still working along these lines of food conservation and preservation, and the Association expects to be able to present at the annual meeting a good report of its activities along these lines.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

## A ROLL OF HONOR

WE HAVE THE CONVERTS BUT THE SUFFRAGISTS HAVE THE CONVICTS

WE have received the following letter, which we gladly publish. We have received many other such letters, but this was the first and deserves first place.

Lake Mahopac, N. Y., July 19, 1917.  
MRS. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MADAM:

I wish to go on record as having been wholly in favor of woman suffrage and as having quietly worked for the "Cause," although not identified with any organization working to that end.

I now wish my name to head a list of those formerly in favor of suffrage and who will now actively work against it because of the methods used to harass our President.

In taking this stand, my regard for womankind has not changed, but I believe the leadership of the suffrage movement to be so derogatory as to render impossible any thought of allowing success to the movement.

Most respectfully,

(Signed) JAMES MADISON FOLLIN.

Apropos of the "Man of the Hour." After an interview with Senator Root, at the Republican Convention at Saratoga two years ago, when the Senator declared he had expressed his attitude on suffrage in the Constitutional Convention twenty years before, Miss Helen Todd is reported to have said: "I turned away in disgust because I realized that Senator Root had not had an idea since 1894."

Somebody ruthlessly suggests that the way to cure militancy is to give women equal treatment with men. Equality is, of course, the last thing they want. It is also exactly what they ought to get.

The feminist who declares no woman ever became eminent by being a good housekeeper or a good mother evidently mistakes eminence for cheap notoriety.

"The old patriotism had for its watchword, 'My country, right or wrong.' Suffrage patriotism has for its watchword, 'My sex, right or wrong.'"

## CAN YOU BLAME HIM?

Says Mrs. Abby Scott Baker:

The real trouble is that the President does not believe any woman is the equal of man. No woman could look into his face, as I have done, and believe otherwise.

Perhaps it all depends upon who is looking into the President's face. We can well imagine "Uncle Woodrow" gazing at some women with an expression plainly admitting not only their equality, but their superiority. They would not be found, however, among the noisy, noisome naggers who go a-picketing.—*Baltimore Evening Sun.*

## A SUFFRAGE LOVE SONG

Editor *Star*—

The enclosed rhyme was published recently in the *Delaware Express* and I find that it embodies the sentiments of many of its readers. Feeling that Otsego County is not entirely for "the cause," I think some people would enjoy it.

Suffragette, suffragette,

Won't you be mine?

I much prefer you to a  
Weak "clinging vine."

I want to be sure of

My three meals a day,  
And when you're a voter,  
We'll have equal pay.

I want to feel certain,

When I'm sick and pale,  
That you'll have to support me  
Or else go to jail.

You can help pay the house rent,

And take care of me,  
And when we're divorced,  
Pay me alimony.

M. F. M.

Delhi, N. Y., Oct. 28, 1915.

Some of the Occoquan lady convicts seemed surprised and upset to find they had to share a dormitory with colored women. Had they never heard the old adage that "Politics makes strange bedfellows?"

At a Socialist meeting held in New York City, Thursday, August 2, 1917, according to *The Call*, Max Eastman said:

JEANETTE RANKIN'S ACTIVITIES  
ARE ADMIRABLE

"There is one person in our government whose activities these last four months have been altogether admirable, and that is the Representative from Montana, Jeanette Rankin. Jeanette Rankin immortalized the entrance of women into Federal politics by voting against an unintelligent war.

"Last month she sent a private investigator into the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, where they manufacture Liberty bonds. She found young girls in that place compelled to work for fourteen and even fifteen hours a day every day in the week, including Sunday, receiving no extra pay for overtime work, and being fired out if they fainted or rebelled or fell sick under the strain. These girls were manufacturing Liberty bonds."

\* \* \*

A man just back from the Pacific Coast said to me yesterday: "The sentiment of the majority of women of the country is strongly against suffrage. The notoriety seekers shout loud and flaunt treasonable banners, but they do not express the sentiment of the true American woman, and I believe to force suffrage on the country while millions of women protest against it would be a grave injustice."

—Mrs. Richards.

\* \* \*

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE LOSING

No newspaper in this country can consistently say a word in favor of woman suffrage while those obstinate and detestable pickets persist in heckling President Wilson at a time when some of the gravest problems that ever rested upon the shoulders of any man occupy his mind and call for decision.

We are beginning to see the wisdom of the anti-suffragists in holding that the suffragists are to a great extent extremists, and that politics would not be purified or benefited by their influence. These statements are contrary to our beliefs in the past, but they are based on the fanatical obstinacy of the picketing post at Washington by which we are being disgraced as a nation.

—Lowell, Mass., *Sun*.

**C**OLORADO SPRINGS, Colo., July 14.—By declaring that the country "must get rid of freak women idiots, who are traitors," Miss Mary Lathrop, a Denver attorney, the only woman delegate to the Colorado Bar Association meeting, won a storm of applause from the hundred delegates assembled at the Antlers Hotel to-day.

Miss Lathrop struck out boldly against what she called the "idiotic and treasonable" attitude of agitators in Washington who have been picketing the White House grounds, and charged such women with treason.

"Let us get rid of our women agitators who are making fools of themselves at Washington and in various parts of the country," said Miss Lathrop. "The sooner we are rid of such women as Mrs. Catt and her associates, who are giving the world a false impression of our woman-

hood, the better it will be for womankind. When I hear these suffragettes say they have no flag but the suffrage flag, and that they are not citizens of the United States, it makes my blood boil. I say, get rid of such idiots. Let the real true women—the mothers and housewives of our country—take their place and we will get real results."

Miss Lathrop paid a visit to Washington recently and told of her observations in some of the woman organizations there, and of the amusing conceptions which these women have of their duty.—*Dispatch to Denver Post.*

The suffrage amendment got a black eye when it came up in the Senate this month. Even Senators who advocate suffrage spoke strongly against putting it before Congress for a vote at the present time on account of the "obnoxious pickets." Said Senator Nelson, of Minnesota: "I don't believe those who do such picketing are fit to vote."

Senator Hollis, of New Hampshire, and other ardent members of the suffrage committee likewise worked hard to hold back the attempt to bring the matter to a vote at this session, believing it a lost cause if forced at this moment. As a result the amendment was put on the calendar but the militants are still heckling Senators to insist on a vote before adjournment.

Mr. Wilson may not believe a woman's place is in the home, but his pardon of the suffragettes shows conclusively that he thinks a woman's place is out of jail. He should not have been surprised. Militants protested against this as one more illustration of the terrible oppression of women who have no vote.

We publish this month a photograph of our new headquarters in Washington, D. C., at 1621 K Street. The house is in charge of our General Secretary, Miss Minnie Bronson.

We hope that no member of our organization will come to Washington without calling upon us.

## NOTICE

OWING TO THE CHANGE OF HEADQUARTERS FROM NEW YORK TO WASHINGTON, IT HAS BEEN NECESSARY TO COMBINE THE JULY AND AUGUST NUMBERS OF THE PROTEST AND ISSUE THE 15th OF AUGUST.

### THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 280 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Complete set, 50 cts. Single copies, 5 cts.  
Selected packages, 25 cts.

#### PAMPHLETS

#### NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Taxation and Suffrage *Frederick Dwight*  
First Legislative Address *Mrs. Francis M. Scott*  
The Woman Suffrage Crisis  
(Editorial, *New York Times*, February 8, 1915)  
Suffragists Desert Philanthropy  
Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law  
Dodgers  
Suffrage a Cult of Self and Sex *Dr. Charles L. Dana*  
Some Catholic Views  
Red Behind the Yellow  
Suffrage Not a Right *Hon. Henry L. Stimson*  
Woman Will Not Gain by Suffrage *Judge Edgar M. Cullen*  
An Argument Against the Woman Suffrage Amendment *Stephen H. Olin*

#### NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*  
The Case Against Votes for Women *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*  
The Case Against the Federal Amendment *Judge Oscar Leser*  
A Destruction of the Right of Self-Government *Hon. Elihu Root*  
A Message from His Eminence, James, Cardinal Gibbons  
Woman Suffrage and Prohibition *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*  
The Militant and the Child *Mrs. F. M. Scott*  
Equality of Suffrage Means the Debasement, etc. *John R. Dos Passos*  
Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation *Minnie Bronson*  
Wage-Earning Woman and the State *Minnie Bronson*  
Should Women Vote? *Joseph Gilpin Pyle*  
Xantippe on Woman Suffrage *Reprint from Yale Review*  
Dodgers—Statistics  
Silk Pins.....10c. each Ribbon....10c. and 15c. a yard  
Celluloid Buttons.....5c. Pennants.....15c. and 25c.  
New Poster Stamps.....35c. a hundred  
Cartoon—Population Votes.....50c.  
New Song—The Anti-Suffrage Rose.....10c.

#### MAN-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

52 Broadway Room 926 New York City

#### PUBLICATIONS

The Woman and the Vote. Address Carnegie Hall, January 26, 1914 *Everett P. Wheeler*  
Feminist Revolutionary Principle Biologically Unsound *Prof. William T. Sedgwick*  
Brief Submitted to House of Representatives, July, 1914 *Everett P. Wheeler*  
Colorado and Suffrage *John C. Ten Eyck*  
Consent of the Governed *Prof. Munroe Smith*  
The Woman Suffrage Crisis  
(Editorial, *New York Times*, February 8, 1915)  
Brief on Woman Suffrage: Political Suffrage for Women Subversive of American Ideals.

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